

December 20, 2011

VIA ELECTRONIC MAIL AND FIRST CLASS MAIL

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RE: MUR 6054

Vern Buchanan for Congress and Joseph Gruters, in his official capacity as Treasurer

Dear Mr. McGinley:

On February 7, 2011, you were notified that the Federal Election Commission determined on February 1, 2011, to take no further action and close the file as to your clients, Vern Buchanan for Congress and Joseph Gruters, in his official capacity as Treasurer. This letter is to advise you that the file in this matter has been closed and this matter is now public. Documents related to this matter will be placed on the public record within 30 days. See Statement of Policy Regarding Disclosure of Closed Enforcement and Related Files, 68 Fed. Reg. 70,426 (Dec. 18, 2003) and Statement of Policy Regarding Placing First General Counsel's Reports on the Public Record, 74 Fed. Reg. 66132 (Dec. 14, 2009).

Enclosed is a copy of MUR 6054 General Counsel's Report #9 in which the Office of the General Counsel recommended that the Commission take no further action as to Vern Buchanan for Congress and Joseph Gruters, in his official capacity as Treasurer, the recommendation approved by the Commission on February 1, 2011.

If you have any questions, please contact Michael Columbo at (202) 694-1341.

Sincerely.

Michael A. Columbo

Attorney

Enclosure

RECEIVED FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

1	BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
2	In the Matter of
3) MUR 6054 CFI A
4 5	Vernon G. Buchanan)
6 7 8	Vern Buchanan for Congress and Joseph R. Gruters, in his official capacity as treasurer)
9	GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT #9
10	I. RECOMMENDATION
11	Take no further action as to Representative Vernon G. Buchanan, Vern Buchanan for
12	Congress and Joseph Gruters, in his official capacity as treasurer, and close the file as to these
13	respondents.
14	II. INTRODUCTION
15 16	This matter concerns \$67,900 of campaign contributions received by Vern Buchanan for
17	Congress ("VBFC" or "Committee"), during the 2006 and 2008 election cycles that were
18	reimbursed with the funds of Hyundai of North Jacksonville ("HNJ"), a car dealership in which
19	Representative Vernon G. Buchanan ("Buchanan") held a majority ownership interest. On
20	March 17, 2010, the Commission found reason to believe that Rep. Vernon G. Buchanan, Vern
2 1	Buchanan for Congress, and Joseph Gruters, in his official capacity as treasurer, knowingly and
22	willfully violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441f and 441a(f) and conducted an investigation. On
23	September 21, 2010, the Commission determined to enter into pre-probable cause conciliation
24	with Respondents, who rejected conciliation shortly thereafter. After we served the General
25	Counsel's Brief, Respondents served their brief, which substantively responded to the allegations
26	in this matter for the first time. On December 9, 2010, the Commission held a probable cause
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1 This case turns on whether Buchanan directed his minority business partner Sam Kazran 2 ("Kazran") to reimburse contributions at HNJ in 2005, 2006, and 2007. Kazran testified that he 3 did, and Buchanan testified that he did not. We have reviewed the entire record, including 4 Respondents' evidence and arguments regarding the credibility of witnesses and exculpatory 5 information. 6 Since we served the General Counsel's brief, we learned of evidence that bears directly 7 on Kazran's credibility. This new infinmation raises significant concerns regarding the 8 credibility of Kazmu, the principal witness in this case, and there is no testimonial or 9 documentary evidence that sufficiently corroborates his testimony that Buchanan directed 10 Kazran to reimburse contributions of HNJ employees, a claim that Buchanan denies. Other 11 witnesses gave statements that are in some ways consistent with Kazran's testimony, but these 12 witnesses either did not testify that they heard Buchanan instruct Kazran to reimburse 13 contributions, or their testimony did not align with Kazran's as to Buchanan's alleged direction to 14 reimburse contributions. Given the concerns about Kazran's credibility and other gaps in the 15 evidentiary record, the lack of direct support is significant. Further, the circumstantial evidence 16 does not sufficiently correborate Kazran's testimony to overcome our repent scacerns with his 17 credibility became in many cases, this evidence amports Buckezan's claims or in ambiguous. 18 Accordingly, we recommond that the Commission to take no further action as to 19 Buchanan and VBFC. 20 III. NEW INFORMATION REGARDING KAZRAN'S CREDIBILITY 21 After we filed the General Counsel's brief. Respondents provided a copy of an order 22 finding Kazran in contempt of court. This order, coupled with Kazran's actions at about the

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same time we filed the General Counsel's brief, influences our reasoning and recommendation in this case.

Respondents attach to their reply brief a 2008 order from a civil case in Georgia finding Kazran in contempt and ordering him jailed, and a 2010 motion seeking sanctions in the same case against Kazran's companies. Reply Brief, Exhs. 6, 8. Respondents' claim that "Kazran's lack of oredibility should be evident to OGC given his deceit during a revent bunkruptey proceeding in Georgia state nourt, a case likely familiar to OGC as a result of its two-year investigation." Reply Brief at 6.

The contempt order in question was issued by a Georgia trial court in November 2008 in a civil suit between Bank of America and three car dealerships owned by Kazran. See Reply Brief, Exh. 5, 6. It appears that the court found Kazran in contempt because he transferred \$137,843.00 in violation of an order appointing a receiver. Id. We agree with Respondents that a court's contempt order for transferring funds in violation of an order of receivership is a serious matter because it relates to Kazran's honesty and respect for the law.

Respondents assert that Kazran's credibility is also undermined because in mid-to-late October 2010, he allegedly threatened to publicize the Commission's investigation of Buchanan by filing a languit seeking Buchanan's payment of Kazzan's future respetiated givil penalty with the Commission and repayment of the reimbarsements to HNJ. Reply Briaf at 5, Exh. 1, 4. We agree with Respondents that Kazzan's actions were ill-advised and raise credibility concerns,

Respondents also fault OGC for not discovering this information. Hearing Transcript at 16. As to this claim, Buchaman's counsel informed as in September 2010 that Kanzan had been in jail in Georgia. We usked Respondents' counsel for more specifics about Kanzan's jailing, and counsel for Buchanan said he would produce them at the appropriate time. We immediately conducted criminal background searches in both Georgia and Florida, and those searches produced no evidence of convictions. Respondents revealed the information in early November when they served their reply brief. We do not know why counsel did not reveal it sooner.

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especially as Kazran's actions occurred in the two weeks before the 2010 elections. We note that

once the election was over, Kazran did not follow through with his promise to file the lawsuit,

which may suggest that his promise was tied to the election.

In fairness to Kazran, his October 2010 correspondence essentially repeats the claims he has made all along: Buchanan should repay HNJ and him for the amounts related to Buchanan's instruction that HNJ reimburse contributions to his political committee. Further, a close reading of the documentation Kazran gera indicates that Kazran's action would reveal the invastigation of his own actions, not Buchanan's. Moranver, although the timing of Kazran's actions makes it appear that they were tied to the upcoming election, the timing of Kazran's letter was also related to the timing of the Commission's September 28, 2010, notification to Kazran that it had found probable cause and was seeking conciliation. The September 28, 2010, notification letter also stated that the Commission might institute a civil suit against Kazran if an agreement was not reached within 30 days.

We also note that at the probable cause hearing, Respondents asserted that "Kazran implied in a letter that he was working with OGC to negotiate a civil penalty for Congressman Buchanan to pay on behalf of Anzran." Hearing Tr. at 17. In fact, the Commission found probable cause that Kazran and HNJ violated the Act, and, as required the by the Act, OGC engaged in pratprobable cause conciliation on behalf of the Commission. The negotiation, which was unsuccessful, was over Kazran and HNJ's civil penalty, not Buchanan's.

Given the new information relating to Kazran's credibility, we believe that his testimony regarding Buchanan's instruction to reimburse contributions at HNJ needs strong corroboration to be considered sufficient enough to say that it is more likely than not that his version of the facts is true. As explained in this report, the record does not contain such corroboration.

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2 3 4 5 6	IV. KAZRAN'S TESTIMONY AS TO DISCUSSIONS DURING WHICH BUCHANAN INSTRUCTED HIM TO REIMBURSE CONTRIBUTIONS AT HIJ IS NOT SUFFICIENTLY CORROBORATED BY WITNESSES TO THESE DISCUSSIONS
7	Kazran testified that Buchanan, his majority partner in the HNJ car dealership, directed
8	him on a number of occasions from 2005 to 2007 to solicit employees at HNJ to make
9	contributions to VBFC and then to reimburse those employees with funds from HNJ. Kazran
10	Depo at 13-14, 20-22, 32, 34-37, 53-54, 70-72. Buchman denies that he ever auggested that
11	Kazran should reimburse employee contributions to his campaign. Buchanan Depo at 93, 98-99.
12	We analyzed Kazran's testimony regarding Buchanan's directions to reimburse
13	contributions of HNJ employees and compared it to the sworn statements of those who witnessed
14	these conversations to see if Kazran's claims were more likely than not true. That analysis
15	shows that Kazran's testimony lacks sufficient corroboration.
16	A. The 2005 Instructions to Reimburse Contributions
17	In his deposition, Kazran described the first time Buchanan allegedly told him to
18	reimburse contributions.
19 20 21 22 23 24 25	Q. The Federal Election Commission records show that on or about November 2005 some of the employees at the North Jacksonville Hyundai made contributions to Mr. Buchanan's campaign for Congress. The records show that Gail Lephart, Ernest Lephart, Gary Smith and Diana Smith contributed a total of \$16,800 to Mr. Buchanan's campaign for Congress. Did you ask any of these individuals to make a contribution to Mr. Buchanan's campaign?
26	A.Yes, I did.
27 29	Q. Why did do you that? [sic (transcript)]
29 30 31 32	A. I instructed them to write a check and reimburse themselves for because Mr. Buchanun had asked me to get money. And he specifically told me get someone you trust and run it through the corporation.

Q. Okay. And did you get someone that you trusted?

A. Yes, Ms. Gail Lephart and D. Smith, he's no longer with us, they were the office managers. Ms. Gail Laphart was our comptroller that I had known asci had a good relationship with. And she was going to gut the check. She's the person that cuts the check. And the first time that — and I think she's contributed on multiple times, but the first time that I did, I told her that we'd be getting this money back from Mr. Buchanan. I said, I don't know when, he just asked me to do it.

Kazran Depo at 20-22. Kazran makes another reference to Lephart later in the deposition when we quantioned him about a paragraph in an affidavit that Buchanan and John Touch, the CEO of his companies, paragraph to him to sign in connection with a settlement of a business dispute between Buchanan and Kazran. See Section V.E., below. This paragraph states that before September 2008, neither he nor Buchanan knew of reimbursements at HNJ. Kazran stated:

A. That is an absolute lie. Mr. Vern Buchanan -- well, let's put it this way. I'm surprised that they're putting that in there, because not only he's had personal talks with me, I've had -- Josh Farid has heard him, Gail Lephart on the phone has heard him....

Kazran Depo at 70. Buchanan denied that he ever suggested to Kazran that he reimburse these contributions. Buchanan Depo at 98-99.

To help resolve this factual dispute, we looked at sworn statements from witnesses who claimed they were present during 2905 coarcesations regarding reimbursing contributions at HNJ. First, Gayle Lephart awared that just before she made her contribution to VBFC on November 29, 2005, she heard Kazran talking on a cellphone to a person she assumed was Buchanan. See Lephart Affidavit. She heard Kazran say something like "Vern, I'll handle it now," and immediately after that, Kazran told her to write a personal check to VBFC in a specific amount and reimburse herself with HNJ funds, and then find other potential contributors at HNJ and reimburse them through HNJ's payroll account, which she did. Id. She also swore that Kazran directed her to send the contributions to Diane Mitchell at VBFC. Id. Diane

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- 1 Mitchell is an assistant to John Tosch who, according to Buchanan, may have done some
- 2 volunteer work for VBFC. Buchanan Depo at 101-102.
- 3 However, Lephart does not swear that she heard Buchanan direct Kazran to reimburse
- 4 contributions, indeed, she did not hear anything Buchanan said during the phone call in question.
- 5 Further, Lephart did not corroborate Kazran's testimony that he told her that Buchanan would
- 6 repay HNJ for the reimbursements. Lephart Aff. at 1.

Second, Joshua Farid, Kaaran's business partner and brother-in-law, swore to

8 overhearing a 2005 phone conversation during which Buchanan told Kazran that he needed to

9 raise \$50,000 for VBFC. See Farid Affidavit at ¶4. He also swore that he heard Kazran tell

10 Buchanan that he had already contributed the maximum to Buchanan's campaign, to which

Buchanan replied that Kazran should have HNJ employees contribute to the campaign and then

reimburse them with HNJ funds. Id. Kazran did not mention this conversation in his deposition.

B. The 2006 Instructions to Reimburse Contributions

14 Kazran also testified to a 2006 conversation during which Buchanan suggested to him

that he could reimburse contributions at HNJ to raise \$25,000 or \$50,000 for VBFC, and this

suggestion was part of the negotiations regarding Kazran's purchase of Buchanan's interest in a

- dealership in Georgia called Gwinnett Place Dodge. Kazran Depo at 13-14, 32, 34-36.
- 18 Buchanan denies that he ever suggested reimbursing contributions at HNJ, Buchanan Depo at 93,
- 19 98-99, and specifically denied that he discussed with Kazran the amount that Kazran would have
- 20 to pay him for his share of Gwinnett Place Dodge, and denied asking Kazran to raise funds in
- 21 connection with that transaction. *Id.* at 104-106.
- 22 Kazran testified that Buchanan, Farid, and he were walking in a hallway when Kazran
- 23 offered to buy Buchanan's interest in that dealership. Kazran Depo at 32, 34-35. Buchanan had

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1	asked Kazran for \$300,000 or \$400,000 for his interest, but Kazran did not have that much
2	money. Id. at 35. Kazran wanted to pay a smaller amount, and he wanted to pay Buchanan over
3	time. Id. He further testified that Buchanan agreed to payments over time if Kazran would agree
4	to raise "25- or \$50,000" for VBFC. Id. at 35-36. When Kazran said he did not have that much
5	money, Buchanan told him to "get someone you trust and run it through the corporation." Id. at
6	36. Fie also claims that Farid was present during the conversation. Id. at 32, 72.
7	Farid, however, does not swear that he heard Eushanan tull Kazran to reimburse VBFC
8	contributions with HNJ funds during this anniversation. He swears that (1) he heard Buchanan
9	tell Kazran that he "would have to get more funds for Buchanan's campaign," and (2) it was his
10	understanding "based on subsequent conversations [Farid] had with Mr. Kazran" that Buchanan
11	wanted Kazran to solicit contributions from HNJ employees and then reimburse them with HNJ
12	funds. Farid Aff. at ¶5. So, while Farid's affidavit provides evidence that is consistent with
13	some details to which Kazran also testified, it lacks first-hand testimony on the most important
14	point: whether Buchanan told Kazran to reimburse contributions at HNJ in 2006.
15	C. The 2007 Instructions to Reimburse Contributions
16	There is corroboration of Kazran reimbursing contributions at HNJ in 2007, but not of the
17	allegation that Buchanan directed them. Kauran's testimony as to such animbursements was:
18 19 20 21 22	But on the second time, in fact, she [Lephart] was at the office when I was talking to Mr. Buchanan. And at the time in 2007, or 2008, was the second one, the company was not doing very good, so—and she was not very happy about us writing those large amounts of checks.
23 24	Kazran Depo at 22. He also testified:
25 26 27 28 29	And that — and the second time that he was running, we were in the process of buying the Kia dealership. But, you know, I was a pretty good partner, if you will, with Mr. Buchanan, so he always — he always said, I'm counting on you now. You're the only one that can raise this kind of money. Make sure you get it. Make sure you get it.

1 2 There would be times that Mr. Buchanan would call me in a week's time several 3 times. I mean, very agasassively too, I mean, I remember having two, three 4 phone calls in a two, three-day period. 5 6 Now, if you guys go and check the close of reporting, that quarterly reporting, 7 you'll see that, you know, at the beginning you get a small amount, but then 8 towards the end of it he would always expect us to do more. 9 10 Kazran Depo at 53-54. Kazran further testified: 11 O.: Mr. Kazran, going back to the previous testimony that you've made today, 12 isn't it true that you were initially approached by Mr. Buchanan who instructed 13 you -14 15 A.: Every time. 16 17 O.: -- to reimburse your employees with the company money and contribute to his 18 campaign? 19 20 A.: Right, He said get somebody you trust, run it through the corporation. And 21 Josh Farid was present there. 22 Id. at 72. Again, Botchnum denies that he ever discussed reimbursing contributions at HiNJ. 23 24 Buchanan Depo at 93, 98-99. Lephart's affidavit also describes reimbursements at HNJ "sometime in 2007." She 25 26 swore that Kazran worroached her and told her that HNJ employees needed to contribute to 27 VBFC and be relembursed with HNJ funds. She chaimed she told Kazzun she was opast that 28 company money was going to be used to raimbuse contributions, but Kazran respended only 29 with a shrug. See Lephart Affidavit. What is missing from both Kazran's testimony and Lephart's statement is specific, direct 30 31 evidence that Buchanan told Kazran to reimburse contributions in 2007. Kazran testifies only that Buchanan told him to get more contributions, and he was aggressive about it. Kazran Depo 32 at 53-54. He obliquely indicated that these contributions were also accomplished through a 33 trusted person, Lephart. Id. at 22. Lephart testifies only that Kazran told her to reimburse more 34

1	contributions at HNJ, she told Kazran she was upset about it, and Kazran only shrugged. Kazran
2	also testified ambiguously about how Buchanan instructed him to reimburse contributions "every
3	time," but he seems to be referring to times when Farid was present, and Farid was not present
4	during the 2007 conversation he had with Buchanan. Kazran Depo at 72. As there is insufficient
5	direct evidence that Buchanan directed Kazran to reimburse contributions at HNJ, we next
6	considered the circumstantial evidence.
7 8 9 10	V. SOME OF THE CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE IS CONSISTENT WITH KAZRAN'S VERSION OF EVENTS, BUT OTHER EVIDENCE IS CONSISTENT WITH THE DENIALS OF BUCHANAN AND HIS ASSOCIATES
11	As described more fully in the General Counsel's Brief, there was a series of events from
12	2005 to 2008 that relates to Kazran's allegation that Buchanan directed him and other partners in
13	his businesses to reimburse contributions. The circumstantial evidence does not sufficiently
14	corroborate Kazran's testimony to overcome our recent concerns with his credibility because in
15	many cases, the evidence is consistent with the denials of Buchanan and his associates.
16 17 18	A. Testimony That Shortly After Buchanan Announced his Candidacy in 2005, One of his Associates Suggested that Employee Contributions Could be Reimbursed
19	Buchanan announced to his partners at a meeting in late summer 2005 that he was
20	running for Congress. Buchanan partner Steve Silverio testified to a conversation that happened
21	during a lunch in August or September 2005 that followed that meeting. According to Silverio,
22	Buckanan's COO Dennia Slater suggested that contributions to Buchanan's campaign could be
23	reimbursed, and Buchanan's CEO John Tosch "just sat there." Silverio Depo at 46-47.
24	In response, Respondents cite Tosch's general denial of any knowledge that Buchanan or
25	his agents suggested reimbursing contributions and Slater's testimony that he did not know about
26	any contributions that had been reimbursed until he heard about them in the media. Reply Brief
27	at 14-15; Tosch Depo at 36; Slater Depo at 68. Respondents also assert that Silverio testified

1 that Buchanan never alluded to reimbursing dealership employees, and Silverio was biased 2 against Buchanan. See Reply Brief at 15, note 8; Hearing Tr. at 10. In addition, before the 3 probable cause hearing, we identified and disclosed to the Respondents Silverio's prior statement, made during an informal interview before his deposition, that the Buchanan officer 4 5 who authorized the reimbursements was either Tosch or Slater and that Buchanan was present 6 when one of his top officers gave that instruction. Letter dated December 9, 2010. In contrast, 7 during his derivation. Silveria testified that it was fibrar who seated that purtners could . 8 reimburse their employees through payrall, and Silveria did not place Buchanan at this 9 discussion. See Silverio Depo at 46-47. Further, we disclosed to Respondents that Silverio 10 stated during his interview that after the end of his partnership with Buchanan, he was at one 11 time motivated to sue Buchanan or take their dispute to the media, but an attorney talked him out 12 of it. Letter dated December 9, 2010. We believe that Silverio's deposition testimony remains credible. First, Silverio testified 13 14 in a way that eliminated Buchanan's involvement in this incident, which is inconsistent with a 15 bias against Buchanan. Respondents' claim that that Silverio's initial desire to sue Buchanan or 16 go to the media shows bias against Euchanan, but it is hard to understand how Silverio's ultiment 17 refused to do these things in the past shows that he must have been bissed against muchanan 18 when he testified as to what Slater said and Touch heard. Further, whether it was Touch or Slater 19 who authorized the partners to reimburse employee contributions, Silverio consistently claimed that a top Buchanan officer suggested that partners could reimburse employee contributions. 20 Finally, both Slater and Tosch have reason to deny that the incident Silverio described happened. 21 Even so, this incident is of limited value in supporting Kazran's testimony about 22 Buchanan. Silverio testified that Buchanan was not present during the conversation, and that he 23

- 1 never heard Buchanan suggest that partners could reimburse employee contributions. Silverio
- 2 Depo at 61. In addition, no other Buchanan partner who we contacted stated that he heard
- 3 Buchanan authorize reimbursed contributions.

B. Fundraising Pressure

As described more fully at pages 9-15 of the General Counsel's Brief, there was also testimony and documentary evidence that beginning in 2005, Buchanan and his associates pressured his minor partners to raise contributions, especially towards the end of quarterly reporting periods, that Buchanan's campaign tracked these contributions, and that Buchanan was more involved in these activities than he was willing to admit during his deposition.

Respondents argue that all of this activity was normal and legal, and Buchanan's lack of recall about these events is understandable, given the passage of time. Reply Brief, 16-18, 22-24. We think the evidence here is ambiguous because it is consistent with both Kazran's contentions of a wider reimbursement scenario and Respondents' claim of normal campaign activity.

C. Employee Reimbursements at the Venice Nissan Dealership in 2005 and the SunCoast Ford Dealership in 2007

Last year, the Commission found probable cause to believe that contributions in September 2005 were reimbursed at Venice Nissan ("VN"), a Buchanan-controlled dealership, and the relevant respondents conciliated with the Commission. See General Coursel's Report #6 in this matter. There is, however, no information that Buchanan was personally involved with these reimbursements.

In 2007, another Buchanan dealership, SunCoast Ford, reimbursed \$18,400 in contributions to VBFC made by its operating partner, Gary Scarbrough, and three employees.

See GC's Brief at 15-16, Reply Brief at 20-21. Respondents' sua sponte submission in this matter did not mention these reimbursements. See Reply Brief, Exh. 9. Respondents do not

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- 1 contest that SunCoast Ford reimbursed these contributions, that they learned of the
- 2 reimbursements in 2007, or that they did not voluntarily disclose this fact to the Commission.
- Reply Brief at 20-21. Respondents rely upon Scarbrough's testimony that he did not recall
- 4 ordering the reimbursements. Id. at 7. They also maintain that VBFC's refund of the reimbursed
- 5 contributions was in line with Commission regulations and standard operating procedure for
- 6 political campaigns. Id. at 21.

Regarding Scarbrough's claim he did not recall ordering the reimbursements, we note that Scarbrough responded that he either did "not recall" ar did "not remember" over 100 times during his deposition, which lasted a little more than two hours. See Scarbrough Depo, passim. As discussed below, Scarbrough remembered more during his informal interview, so we do not consider his testimony particularly credible. In addition, after the SunCoast Ford reimbursements were revealed, neither Scarbrough nor any other SunCoast Ford employee was disciplined for using company funds to contribute to VBFC, Tosch Depo at 51, nor have Buchanan's businesses instituted new policies nor issued guidance to Buchanan's partners and employees about contributing to VBFC. Tosch Depo at 52.

Respondents' contention that VBFC complied with Commission regulations when it refunded the reimbursed SCF contributions is essentially true. Nonetheless, in response to a question at the hearing why VBFC only disclosed the HNJ mimbursed contributions in its sua sponte and not the SCF reimbursed contributions, counsel for VBFC responded that CREW had filed a complaint on August 19, 2008, alleging reimbursed contributions at VN, and it wanted the Commission to understand "all of the outstanding issues." Hearing Tr. at 31-33. Counsel also stated that the HNJ reimbursed contributions were more recent than the SCF reimbursed contributions and that HNJ was "a completely different fact pattern." Id. at 31-32. Counsel for

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1 Buchanan noted that VN never admitted wrongdoing, and he distinguished SCF from HNJ by 2 asserting that Scarbrough "believed he could engage in the activity that occurred there" and that 3 it was a "mistake," Id. at 35-36. Ultimately, counsel's explanation appeared to be that, in 4 contrast to the Buchanan subordinates involved in the VN and SCF contribution reimbursements. 5 Kazran was the only Buchanan parmer who admitted guilt. Id. at 36. We believe the sua 6 sporme's exclusion of the SunCoast Fortl reimbursements is in tension with counsel's claim at the 7 hearing that the sum sponte was filed to help the Commission understand "all the outstanding 8 issues." 9 Related to evidence of reimbursements at other Buchanan-owned dealerships is the 10 testimony from Salvatore Rosa, a former financial officer for a Buchanan-owned company, that

testimony from Salvatore Rosa, a former financial officer for a Buchanan-owned company, that Buchanan had asked him in the early 2000's to help one of Buchanan's business partners receive a reimbursement for a political contribution using the funds of the company Buchanan owned with that partner. Rosa Depo at 20-21. According to Rosa, when he told Buchanan that doing so would be illegal, Buchanan told him to "finesse it" and ended the conversation. *Id.* at 21-22. Buchanan denies this event happened, and in their Reply Brief, Respondents provide reasons why they believe that Rosa is an unreliable witness. *See* Buchanan Depo at 73-74, Reply Brief at 12-14, and Section VI.B.3 below. In response to a question at the hearing, Buchanan's counsel stated that the phrase "finesse it" could be interpreted in different ways and that Buchanan might interpret such a statement differently than Rosa did. Hearing Tr. at 25-26. Respondents did not offer any examples of alternative interpretations.

The Commission found probable cause to believe that VN and a senior manager reimbursed employee contributions, and there is no dispute that SCF reimbursed employee contributions. These incidents are consistent with Kazran's testimony of a reimbursement

- scenario at HNJ, another Buchanan-owned business. There is, however, no evidence directly
- 2 linking Buchanan to these situations. Rosa's testimony, however, links Buchanan to such a
- 3 scheme, although it is outside the statute of limitations. Even so, it is evidence that is consistent
- 4 with Kazran's claim that Buchanan asked him to reimburse contributions at HNJ.

D. Kazran and Farid's 2008 Emails

In 2008, the business relationship between Buchanan and Kazran deteriorated as Kazran's dealerships began experiencing financial difficulty. As a result, Kazran and Farid sent a series of emails to Buchanan, his CEO John Tosch, and one of Buchanan's attorneys in late summer and early fall of 2008 seeking to resolve the business dispute, and in some cases, asking for Buchanan's help. Kazran also sent Tosch copies of the contribution checks of HNJ employees and the HNJ checks given to those employees to reimburse them for their contributions. See Tosch Depo Docs 000018-38.

The first Kazran email, dated August 26, 2008, and sent to Buchanan, mentioned Kazran's support of their partnership and stated "I am the only one in our group that has donated over 80k to [Buchanan's] campaign." Tosch Depo Docs 000058-59. It stated that Kazran and Buchanan appeared to be at the end of their partnership, but Kazran hoped for an "amicable, clean and speedy exit stategy." Id. at 900058.

The next day, Parid sznt an email to Tench in which he expressed drustnation with Buchanan because Buchanan was seeking to sue Kazran after "this dealership" [HNJ] had supported his campaign "to a tune of \$80K" at Buchanan's request. Farid Aff. at Exh. 1. He also expressed frustration with Kazran. *Id.* In his affidavit, Farid explained that he sent this email, in part, because he felt that Buchanan was taking advantage of Kazran by expecting him to use dealership funds to reimburse employee contributions to VBFC. Farid Aff. at 1-2.

1	On September 8, 2008, Kazran sent an email to Tosch either just before or just after					
2	receiving a demand letter for \$2.5 million from Buchanan. In the email, Kazran stated:					
3	this is the 1st set of checks, there are more to follow, It gives me great regret to					
4	have done this for Yern when he doesn't even hesitates [sic] for a second to sue					
5	me and my wife over 20k Maybe he can consider taking part of this 80k+ as					
	one month of payment so my wife doesn't cry out of fear of loosing [sic] our					
7	home. I thank Vern for giving me permission to set aside my moral character					
6 7 8						
9	Tosch Depe Does 000028. Tosch testified that Kazran sent this email and the checks to him the					
10	day or the day ofter Buchanan sent aim the denmand letter seeking \$2.5 million on a loan					
11	Buchanan had made to Kazran. Tosch Depo at 92-96. According to Torch, this email shows the					
12	amounts of dealership money that Kazran claimed he used to reimburse employee contributions					
13	at Buchanan's direction. See Tosch Depo at 71; see also Tosch Depo Docs 000028, 000049,					
14	000056, and 000058-59.					
15	On October 1, 2008, Kazran sent an email to Buchanan attorney Roger Gannam about					
16	terms on which Buchanan and Kazran might settle their business dispute. That email contained					
17	the following:					
18	Vern had mentioned he would want to reimburse the stores a bill that he and I					
19	spoke of, the total amount is \$83500, He has copies of 52k, if he likes I can get					
20	the rest or he can verify through his record. This was at his request					
21	are test of the east settly arready me teneral. This same at the tedents					
22	Tosch Depo Docs 000049.					
23	Finally, on October 5, 2008, Kazran sent an email to Tosch, which appears to					
24	reflect settlement discussions he was having directly with Buchanan. In that email,					
25	Kazran stated:					
26	Vern and I will talk about the last part without attornies[sic], I think I have a					
27	suggestion that will make him happy He wants to cut a check for all the					
28	amount, I have about 70k tracked down the rest are credit cards, if he wants to					
29	verify, I have to call the campaign mgr to ask her for details, if you can have					
30	someone do that I would app[re]ciate it.					
31						

1 Tosch Depo Docs 000056.

Respondents maintain that Kazran's 2008 emails were both (a) about the reimbursements for which Kazran did not want to take responsibility, Reply Brief at 19, and (b) not about reimbursements but, as Tosch testified, about attorney's fees. Reply Brief at 9-10. Respondents do not clearly explain this difference. In support of their claim that the "52k" Kazran referred to in his October 1, 2008, email was a reference to Kazran's attorney's fees, Respondents rely on Tosch's deposition testimony. Reply Brief at 9-10; Tosch Depo at 92-96. Kazran recently confirmed in a latter that he and Buchanan were indeed discussing Buchanan possibly paying Kazran's attorney's fees of \$50,000. Reply Brief, Exh. 1.

Although the emails contained discussions about attorney's fees, they also appear to discuss Kazran's reimbursement of contributions at HNJ and his discussions with Buchanan about repaying those funds. What is not clear is whether these emails closely support Kazran's claim that Buchanan told him to reimburse these contributions with HNJ funds, or that Buchanan agreed to repay these amounts. The language in the emails is vague on these points, and none of them state that Buchanan was aware that Kazran was reimbursing contributions or that Buchanan ordered him to do so.

E. The Afficiavit that Enchanger's Atlantas Asked Kazran to Sign

Another piece of circumstantial evidence in this matter is that on October 2, 2008,

Buchanan and Tosch made an offer to Kazran to settle their dispute that required him to sign an affidavit regarding the reimbursement of contributions at HNJ. This affidavit stated, among other things, that neither Buchanan nor Kazran knew anything about the reimbursed contributions. This affidavit was attached to a settlement proposal Buchanan's counsel drafted, which Buchanan and Tosch signed. Kazran Depo at 56, Exhs. 2 and 3. Kazran testified that the

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- affidavit was false, and that Buchanan made its execution a condition of that October 2, 2008,
- 2 offer to settle their differences. Kazran Depo at 63, 70-72. He stated that Buchanan told him "if
- 3 I did not sign the affidavit, to blame everything on me, then there would be no agreement and
- 4 contract to purchase out the dealership and give me back the money." Id. at 63. This affidavit is
- 5 potentially significant because it could demonstrate that Buchanan was attempting to conceal his
- 6 involvement in the reimbursement scheme.

Rospondents claim that the affidavit is "entirely true." Reply Brief at 20; see also Probable Cause Hearing Transcript at 37. Contrary to Respondents' claims, the affidavit is not "entirely true." Paragraph 5 of the affidavit states that before September 2008, Kazran had no information that HNJ had reimbursed individuals for contributions made to VBFC. This provision contradicts one of Respondents' key claims in the case--that Kazran alone directed the reimbursements at HNJ during the '06 and '08 cycles. See Hearing Tr. at 7-8. It also contradicts Kazran's undisputed testimony that he reimbursed contributions at HNJ in 2005, 2006, and 2007. See Section IV, above. Further, at the time the affidavit was drafted, Kazran had already sent the reimbursement checks to Tosch, who discussed Kazran's allegations with Buchanan's attorneys. Tosch Depo at 71-72 (noting that Kazrun discussed the reimbursements during a call that took place the day of, or the day before, Kazran smit the chacks to Tosch by esnail); Tosch Depo Docs 000028 (September 8, 2008, omail from Kazran to Tosch containing HNJ reimbursement checks and the contribution checks that were reimbursed). Finally, Buchanan and Tosch gave different reasons why the affidavit was necessary. Buchanan claimed that the affidavit was needed because Tosch told him that Kazran was trying to leverage more money in the financial dispute, but Tosch claimed that the affidavit was needed based on a conversation Buchanan had with

1 Kazran on October 1, 2008. See Buchanan Depo at 165-68; Tosch Depo at 111. Tosch testified
2 that he was unaware of the subject of the conversation. Tosch Depo at 111-12.

Buchanan testified to having almost nothing to do with the affidavit and remembering little about it. Buchanan Depo at 164, 166-67, 173. He claimed he did not remember signing the settlement proposal to which the affidavit was attached, that it was not his idea to have Kazran sign the affidavit, that he did not know who prepared the affidavit, that he had no part in drafting it, that he had never seen it before his degusition, and that he mover discussed it with Tesch. Id. at 164, 166-67. He decied knowing if Kazran ever signed the affidavit. Id. at 173. Respondents assert that Bushanan was understandably unable "to remember the precise details of a document he had never seen!." Reply Brief at 20.

Buchanan's lack of recall about the affidavit, or the events surrounding it, does not seem credible. It is improbable that Buchanan's attorneys drafted the affidavit and presented it to Kazran without Buchanan's involvement considering that (1) the affidavit did not concern the subject of the commercial negotiations, but rather Buchanan's knowledge of reimbursed contributions to VBFC, and (2) it was presented to a former Buchanan partner who, according to Respondents, was threatening to go to Buchanan's political apponent or the Commission before the 2008 election with his allegation that Buchanan and each him to mimburso.contributions.

To some extent, the affidavit contradicts the testimony of both Kazran and Buchanan.

Respondents claim that affidavit is true, but it is not. Kazran claims that the affidavit "blame[s] everything on me," but it does not. Kazran Depo at 63. Thus, it does not provide strong corroboration for either.

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F. The Testimony of Buchanan and his Associates on Background Issues

2 On a number of background issues, the testimony of Buchanan and his associates 3 is not particularly credible. Although these inconsistencies diminish the credibility of Buchanan and his associates, they do not necessarily corroborate Kazran's testimony. 4 5 In their Reply Brief, Respondents claim that there is "unassailable, independent 6 proof that Congressman Buchanan actively instructed against reimburseneest of 7 contributions," Raply Brief at 11, oven though there is little convolorative evidence and 8 more contrary evidence. During his depasition, Buchanan asserted that he made it clear 9 to Kazran and others that they could not reimburse contributions, and that VBFC sent a 10 letter to partners informing them that they could not reimburse contributions. Buchanan 11 Depo at 34, 58-59, 93-94. Buchanan's testimony is at odds with the testimony of Kazran 12 and Silverio, see Kazran Depo at 87-88 (testimony that he was unaware that reimbursing 13 contributions was illegal), Silverio Depo at 46-47 (claiming that Buchanan's COO 14 Dennis Slater told him in 2005 that he could reimburse contributions and that Silverio did not know the rules or the laws of campaign finance). Buchanan's testimony is also 15 16 internally inconsistent, contradicted by a statement in an interview of the furnier VBFC 17 treasurer Nancy Watkins that she was unaware of any dangements prepared for 18 Buchanan's business partners regarding campaign finance law, and not supported by the 19 documents actually produced by VBFC. 20 Similarly, Buchanan testified that he could not remember "one way or the other" 21 whether he ever asked Kazran to fundraise for VBFC for the '06 election. Buchanan 22 Depo at 89. There is evidence that Buchanan did ask, and it raises legitimate questions as to Buchanan's credibility that he could not admit this innocuous fact. See Gruters Depo

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- 1 at 38-39 (testifying that Buchanan asked his partners for contributions during the 2006
- 2 election). Despite not remembering whether he asked Kazran to fundraise in 2006,
- 3 Buchanan was certain that he told Kazran not to reimburse contributions. See Buchanan
- 4 Depo at 93-94, 110. These two statements are largely inconsistent with each other, and
- 5 are inconsistent with the other evidence.
- 6 Also, Silverio and Gruters testified that Buchanan discussed his campaign with
- 7 his partners at the monthly partner meetings, which Buchanan regularly attended.
- 8 Silverio Depo at 16-17, 27-28; Grutors Depo at 32, 50-51. Buchanan and his top
- 9 deputies, Tosch and Slater, appeared to have contradicted one another as to whether
- 10 Buchanan attended partner meetings during his campaign and whether his campaign was
- discussed at those meetings. See Buchanan Depo at 26, 51, 114; Tosch Depo at 28;
- 12 Slater Depo at 47-57. However, Gruters' and Silverio's testimony were consistent with
- 13 Kazran's account.
- Buchanan testified that he did not report an individual partner's fundraising goal
- back to the campaign, the campaign did not track fundraising goals, and that he could not
- 16 "imagine saying anything" to his comparin about what his partners agreed to raise.
- 17 Buchanan Depo at 41, 56. Further, Buchanan testified, "I don't know what anybady lins
- 18 raised." Id at 110. However, this tentimony is contradicted by the testimony of Gruters
- 19 and documents produced by VBFC. The campaign maintained lists showing the amounts
- 20 that Buchanan's partners had committed to raise, or what they had raised so far, Gruters
- 21 Depo at 42-43, 97, 109, and Buchanan himself would follow up with partners to see how
- they were progressing with their fundraising. Id. at 38-39, 42, 109-111. VBFC produced
- 23 an email listing \$58,300 in contributions from various individuals received by VBFC on

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- 1 September 27, 2007, including \$9,200 from Kazran and his wife. VBFC initially
- 2 produced this email on June 25, 2010, but redacted the recipients' email addresses,
- 3 including Buchanan's, as "non-responsive." VBFC 000361. After Buchanan's
- 4 deposition, Respondents produced this document in unredacted form, revealing that the
- 5 email was sent to Buchanan.

Faced with the inconsistencies between Buchanan's testimony and that of the other

7 witnesses and records regarding these issues, Raspondents consider that Buchanan's memory

8 may have "imperfections" or contains "minor memory lanses" that pertain to events years before.

9 Respondents also contend that these inconsistencies and lapses are not meaningful, and they

relate to legal activity. Reply Brief at 16-18. We do not insist that any witness have perfect

recall of past events to be considered credible, but we think that Buchanan's inability to

12 remember basic facts as to these uncontroversial, routine issues detracts from his credibility.

Nevertheless, these inconsistencies on background issues do not necessarily show that Buchanan

directed Kazran to reimburse contributions.

practices into evidence of wrongdoing." Reply Brief at 1.

15 VI. RESPONDENTS' ARGUMENTS ARE NOT FACTUALLY ACCURATE

While we do not, for the reasons stated above, recommend finding probable cause, we believe it is necessary to show that three arguments raised in the Raply Brief are factually incorrect. In their brief, Respondents contend that "three fatal flaws" prevent the Commission from finding probable cause in this matter: OGC (1) "relies exclusively on the testimony of one unreliable witness and his relative," (2) "conveniently omits exculpatory evidence that contradicts OGC's ultimate conclusion," and (3) "contorts commonplace, lawful fundraising

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	A.	UGC Relies on More Than Une Witness and his Relative
	As dis	acussed above, other witnesses, including Lephart, Rosa, and Silverio—none of
whom	are rela	ated to Kazran-gave testimony that was consistent with parts of Kazran's

testimony. As discussed above, to some extent, Buchanan and his associates also corroborated

6 aspects of Kazran's testimony.

Respondents ascert that Parid is not credible because he is Kazran's brother-in-law and partner. Reply Brief at 6-7. The fant that Parid is Karran's brother-in-law and business partner does not make Farid's swam testimony inherently biascal or unreliable, nor does it affect the extent to which the remainder of the evidence may support Kazran's (and Farid's) testimony.

Also, Respondents rely significantly on an unsworn email from Buchanan's sister-in-law Yvonne Buchanan stating that "We've never reimbursed anyone." See Reply Brief at 15 and VGB 002.

Further, her statement was inaccurate because by the time of her email, there was no dispute that VBFC knew that contributions at SunCoast Ford had been reimbursed by the dealership and subsequently refunded by VBFC at the direction of its treasurer. Accordingly, it is hard to see why Ms. Buchanan's email statement is significant.

Respondents also contend that Kazran has a substantial motive to fabricate his testimony to receive lenient transment from the Commission, having admitted illegal activity. Reply Brief at 3-4. Kazran has not received lenient treatment from OGC, as we recommended that the Commission make knowing and willful findings against Kazran at the RTB and Probable Cause stages, and we recently recommended that the Commission sue Kazran, which it did. See FEC v. Sam Kazran a/k/a Sam Khazrawan, et al., No. 3:10-cv-01155-UATC-JRK (M.D. Fla.) (complaint filed December 17, 2010). We note that Buchanan, a sitting Representative, also has a motivation to avoid a probable cause determination that he and his committee violated the Act.

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Respondents also seek to undercut Kazran's testimony by citing allegations from

Buchanan's lawsuit against Kazran and pending bankruptcy proceedings as truth, even though

these matters are not final. Respondents allege that Kazran's credibility is diminished because

he did not repay a loan from Buchanan to Kazran and that Kazran allegedly diverted funds

intended for one dealership to support a different dealership and for other purposes. See Reply

Brief at 5-6. Litigation between Buchanan and Kazran has been ongoing for over two years.

The Commission is in no passition to resolve the allegations in those matters, and for now, those

B. Exculpatory Information Was Disclosed to Respondents

Respondents received exculpatory information, some in the GC's Brief, some in the depositions, and some shortly before the December 9, 2010, probable cause hearing.

1. The HNJ Response Document

allegations are just that: allegations.

As evidence that Buchanan was not involved with the HNJ reimbursements, Respondents relied significantly on a statement in an unsworn document Kazran submitted to OGC styled as the HNJ Response to the Commission's Subpoena ("HNJ Response"). In Kazran's answer to subpoena question 27, Kazran omits Buchanan's name from a list of HNJ partners, officers, and managers whom he claimed knew about the reimburned contributions. Hanning Tr. at 9-10, 37; HNJ Response at 5. Kazran submitted this document on October 2, 2009, which was after he stated during interviews on July 15 and 16, 2009, that Buchanan instructed him to reimburse contributions and before he testified under oath during a deposition on November 6, 2009, that Buchanan instructed him to reimburse contributions. Kazran Depo at 13, 21, 37, 72.

1	We understand why Respondents might think this unsworn document ² is significant
2	because they may be unaware that we interviewed Kazran before he submitted that statement,
3	and in that prior interview, he claimed that Buchanan directed the reimbursements at HNJ.
4	Further, it is likely Kazran understood the relevant question as referring only to current HNJ
5	partners, not a past partner such as Buchanan. Accordingly, this document is not significant.
6	As a final note, Respondents assert that we provided this donument two days before the
7	hearing, and they am correct. However, it was an oversight, we provided the decument
8	immediately when it was called to our attention, and the Respondents' prominent use of the
9	document suggests that they suffered little harm.
10	2. Information in the GC's Brief and Contentions Made in the Reply Brief

Respondents contend that OGC omitted significant exculpatory evidence from its Brief.

See Reply Brief at 12. Respondents contend that Salvatore Rosa's testimony that Buchanan directed him to reimburse a business partner's contribution in the early 2000's is not credible and that Rosa has not worked for Rep. Buchanan for eight years. Reply Brief at 12-14. However, OGC clearly identified the time period in which Rosa warned Rep. Buchanan that reimbursing dealership employees was illegal, and did not imply that Rosa knew anything about the current allegations. Marcuves, the statute of limitations has nathing to do with when Businessa lenses relimbursing contributions was illegal, and that knowledge is relevant to the analysis of whether his alleged violations were knowing and willful.

Respondents also contend that Slater, Buchanan's former COO, provided "significant exculpatory testimony." Reply Brief at 15-16. Respondents' characterization suggests that they view as exculpatory any person's testimony – here, Slater's – that their own contributions to

² Coursel for Buchguan inacquentely referred to the HNJ Response as a sworm suitement. Hearing Tr. at 37.

1	VBFC were not reimbursed or that Buchanan never told them to reimburse contributions, see
2	Hearing Tr. at 10-11, even if their contributions are not at issue in this case. Respondents even
3	asserted that Dennis Slater's opinion that "the reimbursement allegations smell like retribution
4	rather than fact" is exculpatory evidence, which it is not. Hearing Tr. at 11. In any event, Slater
5	was represented by Buchanan's attorney for his dealerships during his deposition and a full
6	transcript of his deposition testimony was provided to Respondents at the time we provided
7	Respondents with OGC's brief.

3. Information Provided to Respondents Prior to the Probable Cause Hearing

Just before the probable cause hearing, we provided to Respondents three pieces of information obtained during informal interviews. Letter dated December 9, 2010. We have already discussed one of these pieces, which relates to a difference between Silverio's interview and deposition testimony. See Section V.A., above. While there may be differences of opinion as to whether all the material in the letter is exculpatory, we do not think that the information is particularly significant and, as already noted, Respondents used the information at the hearing.

Another piece of information was a statement from Rosa's interview that he did not trust Kazran. However, Respondents argue for three pages that Rosa himself should not be believed, see Reply Brief at 12-14. We do not think that Rosa's general impression of Sam Kazran is particularly probative.

Finally, the information provided from Joseph Scarbrough's interview regarding the circumstances of his being reimbursed by SunCoast Ford for his contribution to VBFC was actually inculpatory, not exculpatory, because it impeached his testimony (he appeared to remember more during his interview than at his deposition), and Respondents relied on Scarbrough's testimony.

C. Lawful Fundraising Practices Are Not Cited as Evidence of Wrongdoing but Rather Provide Releasnt Context

Respondents correctly point out that the following actions are legal: soliciting business partners for contributions, seeking contribution "bundlers," tracking contributors, focusing on quarterly reporting, and choosing to raise funds from individuals instead of self-funding. See Reply Brief at 22-24. OGC did not allege that any of these practices constituted violations of the Act; rather, they provide relevant background, content, and someorating details for Kazzan's testimony, and provided exemples of instances in which Buchanan's testimony thid met appear to be accurate or consistent, even as to innocuous and routine activity.

VII. CONCLUSION

The evidence in this case comes close to supporting a finding that it is more likely than not that Respondents violated both §§ 441f and 441a(f). However, new information raises significant concerns regarding the credibility of Kazran, the principal witness in this case, and there is no testimony or documentary evidence sufficiently corroborating his testimony that Buchanan instructed him to reimburse employee contributions at HNJ, a claim that Buchanan directly denies. While there is some other evidence in the record that is consistent with Kazran's general allegations, other evidence supports Buchanan's denials or is ambiguous. Accordingly, we resummend that the Commission take no further netion against these respondents.

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VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

•	A ver	WEC.	WINE NOW TONG
2 3 4 5 6		1.	Take no further action as to Representative Vernon G. Buchanan, Vern Buchanan for Congress and Joseph Gruters, in his official capacity as treasurer, and close the file as to these respondents.
7 8 9 10 11		2.	Approve the appropriate letters.
13 14 15 16 17	Date	25 /11	Christopher Hughey Christopher Hughey Acting General Counsel
18 19 20 21			Stephen A. Gura Deputy Associate General Counsel for Enforcement
22 23 24 25 26			Mark Allen Assistant General Counsel
27 28 29 30 31			Jack Gould Attorney
32 33 34			alle

Michael A. Columbo

Attorney